1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
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342 417 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

291 The Gidü'tikad[8] of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[75] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[76] She braided it into a belt from which the bark hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names. [271]

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

[75] De Angulo, 318, and Spier, Klamath, 207, feel that the Plains costume is late.
[76] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

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294 Slashes are made in pairs just below the cuff and a thong[88] run through. When putting on the moccasin one pulls on the tongue and wraps the cuff about the ankle, inside over outside. The thongs are crossed on the instep and caught through the first loop on either side. They are then brought back to the instep, crossed again, and caught through the next side loops. They are finally returned to the instep, recrossed, and wrapped about the ankle once or twice and tied. Sometimes there is but one perforation at either side, just below the cuff and alongside the tongue. A thong is run through these holes (under the tongue), crossed on the instep, carried back and around a couple of times, and tied at the back.

The two right sides are placed together, sewing is done on the wrong side, and the moccasin turned when finished. Some specimens have welt seaming, that is, a narrow and discrete strip carried in the seam between the two surfaces which are being joined. This gives a ridged effect which is well shown in the skin cradle-covering, plate 30*a*. The cuff, sole-upper, and back seams of Nannie Ochiho's moccasins were all welt sewn. Daisy Brown thought that this technique was unknown in the old days.

●171 294 Welt seaming seems to be fairly general but has attracted relatively little attention. Teit[89] mentions it for Thompson; and Mason,[90] for Kutchakutchin, Naskapi, Sitka, and Shoshone specimens. A Klamath-Modoc moccasin[91] collected by Barrett has welt seaming, and Dr. Spier tells me that it is also found among the Okanagan. Although Wissler does not mention it for the Blackfoot, his figure 78, and possibly figures 90 and 91, suggest a welt seam. Judging from the few Plains specimens available, it does not seem characteristic of that region, a fact which may or may not be of significance. A check of museum specimens would determine if the distribution is primarily northern and if the welt technique tends to associate itself with any particular moccasin pattern or patterns.

The analyses of Wissler and Hatt leave little to be said concerning moccasin patterns, but their distributions may be extended somewhat. Wissler[92] notes Pattern 8 for the Western Cree, Thompson, Nez Percé, Sarsi, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Northern Shoshone.

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[88] One selected at random measured 62 inches in length.

[89] Thompson, 210.

[90] Primitive Travel and Transportation, 346, 348, 352, 353.

[91] Cat. no. 1–12447.

[92] Blackfoot, 128, 142, and distribution table, 151; also Wissler, Costume Decorations, 106.

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To these, Hatt[93] adds the Chippewa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Salteaux, and Sioux of the Upper Missouri. He also notes a specimen from northern Utah. By virtue of Teit's recently published paper,[94] the Plateau distribution can be extended to include "all the interior Salishan tribes," and specifically the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagan, Flathead, and Spokan. For the Shuswap, Teit[95] states that "a few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe." Spier and Sapir[96] note Pattern 8 for the Kalispel and state that it is the prevailing style on the Yakima reservation today. Pattern 8 is also known from the Klamath,[97] and de Angulo[98] reports it for the Modoc and Achomawi as well as for the Surprise Valley Paiute.

The above distribution is a northerly and westerly one but the situation is complicated by the presence of several different moccasin types and by chronological considerations. The absence of Pattern 8 among certain Plateau groups, namely Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Wishram,[99] also requires explanation. The style is traditionally old among the Blackfoot, Thompson, and Coeur d'Alene, and recent among Spier's Klamath and Okanagan.[100] Unfortunately I have no data concerning its age among the Paiute. When asked, informants invariably replied that it was the old-time form. I do recall being shown a modern specimen which, as nearly as I can remember, accorded with Wissler's Pattern 10. In response to a leading question, my informant said that it was probably a "white man's moccasin." At the time I was not aware of the situation to the north and did not press the point further.

Mittens

Gloves were unknown in the old days, although at present they constitute one of the principal articles of native manufacture. Dr. Sam said that when women were traveling they sometimes wore buckskin "mittens." Pindy said that women tied a rabbit skin, fur side in, on either hand. A similar arrangement of wildcat hide covered the whole of both arms, muff fashion. Neither the "mitten" nor the "muff" has a native name.

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[93] P. 179.
[94] Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, 72, 234, 334.
[95] Shuswap, 506.
[96] Wishram, 207.
[97] Spier, Klamath, fig. 21b.
[98] P. 319.
[99] Teit, Lillooet, 219; Teit, Shuswap, 777; Spier and Sapir, 207.
[100] Wissler, Blackfoot, 123; Teit, Thompson, 209; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 72; Spier, Klamath, 209; and Spier, in conversation.

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Joshua also gave a very fragmentary account of what he called a Rain (?) dance (tobo'nigü), but it was not mentioned by other informants. 535

In this dance you jump up and pretend to shoot with a bow and arrow. Two singers, dressed as antelope, get inside the circle. They look as though they were angry.

Evidence on the Ghost dance is both meager and garbled. If informants are to be relied upon, the California and Oregon Paviotso were more or less skeptical from the start. The only positive evidence of the 1870 Ghost dance lies in the statements: "I heard the talking twice"; and "they tried it before Jack Wilson too." But part of Joshua's account seems to apply to the earlier appearance. 171 535

Before white men settled here, some fellows from Nixon (Nevada) brought songs (I was about twelve years old).[228] They told the Paiute, "We are going to have our mothers and our fathers come back. When the sun comes up, keep on dancing and then go in the creek." Everybody danced and then swam in Bidwell creek to make them tough. After this one man told them, "Put on white paint. Some put on yellow paint." He would say, "You know—[naming a deceased person]. I am talking to him." At Nixon they heard talking in the night. Sometimes they danced four or five nights. All the dance bosses are now dead.

When I was about sixteen years old I saw them dance near Lowell's store (Fort Bidwell), at the foot of Bidwell mountain, over near Anderson's (just south of Cowhead lake), and the other side of Dick Ochiho's where the reservoir is now. All these were nice, flat, open places.[229]

The remainder of Joshua's account applies to the 1890 dance, although he underestimates the period by ten years.

About thirty years ago when we were taking up land, Frank Spencer came from Yainax with songs, and after him other people. At Nixon (Nevada) they made hard wind and rain come. These Paiute did not believe this because they didn't see the things.

One man from here went to Nixon. They were going to show a ghost. Everybody went to Nixon—some Bannock, some Warm Springs Indians, and some Achomawi. George Winnemucca from McDermitt went, too. Jack Wilson was there.

They sang at night and set up a long pole like a post. They made a fire in a circle. All the good men sat down and listened. Three or four went to one side and sang. They began to get stiff and lay down. They lay there maybe two hours, muttering as if talking in dreams; they were talking with ghosts. The ghosts told them, "We are coming back"; but they never came. When the men came to [consciousness], they had nothing to show; it was just talk. The dead didn't come back; so we didn't believe.

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[228] He is now between 65 and 70, 67 he thinks.

[229] These are probably the usual dance grounds and need not apply to the Ghost dance.

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Jack Wilson had Indians dress up and act like ghosts. They came and talked with the people. Afterwards some followed them and found they were impersonators.

Piudy's account is more detailed and his dating correct.

A man whose name I don't remember brought the song from Nixon about forty years ago when the white people were already here. He taught two or three (all dead now) those songs. They said that the dead would come to life. When our people heard that they tried it, but danced only one night, not five like the Nixon Indians.

Our people danced and prayed (nani'stuhai) and said, "My mother is coming; my father is coming." They swam in the water too, but there was no pole and no special kind of clothing. The Silver Lake Paiute may have danced one night like these Indians; but Dr. Sam said that he never did believe in it.

Upon another occasion Piudy remarked that white paint was not used as facial decoration prior to the Ghost dance, but whether this refers to that of 1870 or 1890, I do not know. If Joshua's statement is correctly attributed to the earlier appearance, the white paint would date from that period.

The reference to Dr. Sam in Piudy's account is of some interest in that it suggests the limiting effect a powerful personality may have on diffusion. A brief statement concerning the dance among the Silver Lake Paiute was secured from Dr. Sam:

Once Frank Spencer (Wü'nayiga) brought word from Nixon that if we danced the dead would return. He was dance boss and he sang. Everyone danced in a big circle around a fire. A man and a woman were partners. They danced all night every night. Frank Spencer talked to the ghosts. Soon the people stopped because they did not believe the dead would return.

I have no material on the 1870 dance among the Oregon bands; the above refers to the 1890 dance.

The accounts are far from satisfactory and even these were got with some difficulty. A number of informants claimed not to remember the dance at all or stated that they had heard of it but vaguely. It seems unlikely that this should be attributed to reticence due to emotional associations; perhaps there is rather a reluctance to admit having been duped. Or again, informants may really be correct in insisting that their attitude was one of skepticism. The Ghost dance may have been a non-spectacular affair which made little impression on them. Yet this would be singular in view of the fact that the whole movement had its inception among their Nevada congeners.

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ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1] His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soahoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soahocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soahocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

Hunting and Fishing.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hūwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

[1] Chamberlin, 334.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*qutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place.

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*ᵘ) of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ès*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914). In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled. Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs: *t'üsd*, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qõgí*, wild carrot; *múə*, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''üts*, little onions; *ðsi*; *a'qõ'*; *kusiək'*; *qõγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+í*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*; *wára*; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement. The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called *tũpá-qwana* or *tũ'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 73; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

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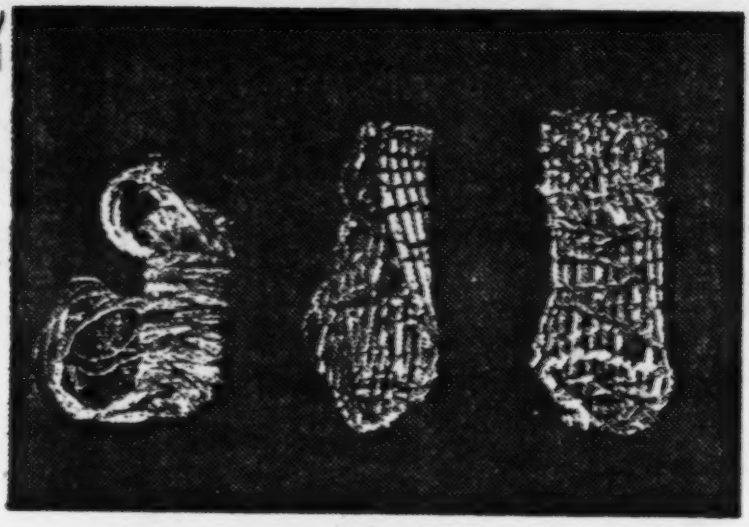

Fig. 5.

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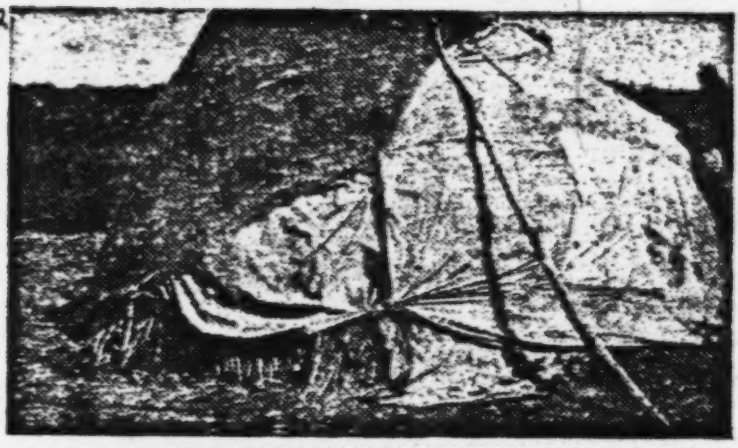

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 a–c (50.1–8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. a, Shivwits; b, c, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

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[P. 208 is blank]

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252 412 (*wiowán*ᵘ) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

Tobacco.

276 [171] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púiʒa'*ᵖᵘ. It is a weed growing [824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà'*ᵃ. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá γodpⁱ*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

Dogs.

224 231 262 171 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

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animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

Dress.

The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*[i]. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

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shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside.

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

[1] Mooney, 1049 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ground, and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery[1] and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.[2] Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Preparation of Skins. The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out

[1] Powell, 43.
[2] Stansbury, 182.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*tĭcoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwŭ'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286 281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

531 287 • 171 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

412 285 [237] In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence. Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 [824] The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toïb*[1]) to make rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saïb*[1] tule for a balsa and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types. Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed bowls, *cō'dzilā* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter (50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening [531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three coiled baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig. 13a).

•171 285 000 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*ᵉ, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tŭ'ba—ɣawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nō*ᵒ. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyuĭ*) spawn.

Fig. 16 (50.1–7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1–7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō"nō, ya'tĭ*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1–7927 and 50.1–7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

285 sperical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 285 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. The twined bottles include a flat-[171] bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ŏts*; the smaller, *o'tsăts*.

171 285 291 Three hats (*qaitsoqot*, *qaitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*ăĭis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

[1] Russell, 133.
[2] Mason, (b), Plates 32, 117; 259, 361, 480, 496.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1–8616, 8618) gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*^{u}) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1–8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1–8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso; representative forms are specimens 50.1–8575, 50.1–8597, 50.1–8577, 50.1–8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwāī'ō*, the Moapa term being *ta'qōy*^{u}.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsītsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.
[2] Mason, (b), 494.
[3] Mason, (b), 492.
[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2]

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posintsaxdp*^{i}; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*d*^{u}*s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *simpuw*^{i} grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*^{i}, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*^{i} or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

[1] Wilson, 164.
[2] Ibid., 20.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.[1]

As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the Museum (specimen 50.1–6930) is of this category; it was bought from a Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b) shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle: to enhance the æsthetic effect the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1–6930 also shows the two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 190.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1–885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically: the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

854 171

854 171 285 The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'huba*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1–7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1–2110, 50.1–4026, 50.1–4025, 50.1–5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1–7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

[1] Mason, (a), 527.
[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

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854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu-
531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong-
171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

[854 The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
171 type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
285] the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

[1]Mason, (a), 528.
[2]Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3]Dixon, (a), 200.
[4]Mason, (a), 530–534.

Text Continued on Page 257

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that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tō'dsip*[i] or *tō+dsinimp*[i]) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasīs* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'ĭsi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nănimŭt*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naiyu'k· apărau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

[1] Powell, Fig. 48, facing p. 128.

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else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

Kinship Usages.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

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It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai'* and *hûza*, *âtsi'*, and *īnanák'*^{wa}).

RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is extremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry.

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. Cūnáwaʙ[i] was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to Tūʙáts. The Moapa believe that Cotsípamâpöt never aged and never died. Cūnáwaʙ[i] and Töʙáts also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance[1] was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ígnacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pô'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*áte-pô'aγat*), others bad (*ōwú-pô'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

[1] See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking, the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nū'nūmbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nū'nūmbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in the human being called *mūgua* different from the body and surviving it. Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.
[2] Lowie, 226.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wáwanabìdi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake; as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wáwanabìdi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzŏaвits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzŏaвìts, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lowry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqámqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tŏcitŏmp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*ŏp nóqára*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a

1. I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

2. For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber:

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
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man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles). Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr. Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it. Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
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Sweating, and Sweat-Houses.

515 951 783 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America. There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

Clothing.

294 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing nothing but a kilt.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually were only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added: one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

Weapons of hunting and war.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different: the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the arrow on the right hand side.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
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the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

Ceremonies. Religion.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms.

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

Miscellaneous.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner.

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that his own people very seldom made them that way.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
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501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit even fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.) [1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

191 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

1. See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.
[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.
[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.
[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.
[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.
[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.
[7] Kelly, 189.
[8] Lowie, 295.
[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.
[10] Hopkins, 55*f*.; Kelly, 189.
[11] Lowie, 294.
[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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N U 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'ha's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'ha for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'ha — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his [776] Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

"I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted a- N [171] mong Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it origi- [174] nated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'ha later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, [712] and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 159 163. Panai'ha's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'ha was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats.

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

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PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
595 southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
●171 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
595

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.
[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

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ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

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756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

756 757 171 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

Loss of Power

756 688 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

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wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to gain marked economic privileges.

Summary

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire ceremonial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of organization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in acquiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indicate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be regarded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel combinations of practices found widely over western North America, the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are unique.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.
[4] Beals, 1932, 216.
[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.
[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).
[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the death of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year." Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

" I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[28] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[29]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[28] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[29] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[3] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[4] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[5]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[3] La Barre, 61.
[4] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[5] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings." Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction." For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue." Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains."

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped." The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

" U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

" Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

" My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

" Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

" La Barre, 72.

" Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[11]

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[12] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[4]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[4] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[26] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it." And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselytes.[27] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[26] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[27] Tom Garth, field notes.
[28] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quananah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[24] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[25] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[26] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[24] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[25] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[26] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus."

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute MR3 ●
Washo NT20
Comanche N06

| Element | Occurrence | | |

106 University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.

N
W
● 171
*795
796
• [534]
[276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tmn	Wa	Ow	Pa	Mo	Ws	Ce 2	Ce 1	No C	Wa	Wn	Do 2	Do 1	Ab 2	Ab 1	Kw	Cm	Kl	Ka	K-A	Lt 2	Lt 1
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	+	+	(+)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°(+)
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants																						
78. 3 assistants	+																					+
79. 4 or more assistants																						
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20
N W
171
345
746
[illegible]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																							
	Tsim	Kwak	Bell	Haid	Tlin	Tutc	Klam	Mod	Wint	Yuro	Coas	Yuki	Pomo	Patw	Wash	Nomt	Sant	Ute	Kiow	Crow	Chey	Arap	Pawn	Oto
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All baths before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open																								
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire																								
105. 4 sticks on fire																								
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second																								
113. Cedarman third																								
114. Men (before women and children)																								
115. Women and children allowed																								
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance																								
120. Separation of men and women																								

Element	Occurrence																				
	LT	E-A	Ke	Cam	Hu	Ab	Du	Dg	Wa	Ok	Co	Lo	Sa	Wa	Ow	Pa	Tm				
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−					
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−				
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedar man throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	+	−	•+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Continued on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
NW
171
Shas
796
[533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	LT	K-A	Ko	Com	Ha	Ap	Pa	Pa2	Ha2	Mo	Co	Co2	Ha3	Ha	Ap	Ta	Ta2	Ha4	Ha5	Ha6	Tam
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	• –	+	• –								
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	• +	+	• +								
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	• +								
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	• +								
161. Rule against women singing	+	• –	+	+		(+)	+	–	+	+	+	• –	+								
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	+	+	+	+	+	+								
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+								
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		• +	• –	• +	+	+	+	+								
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–								
167. 4 sticks added											(+)	(+)	+								
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+								
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	• +	+	+	+	+	+								
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	• +	+								
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	• +								
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	–	• –	+		+	+	+								
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	–	+	• +	+	+	+								
174. By women		–	–	• +	• –	–	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–								
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+								
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+								
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	• +	+	–	–	+	+	+	+								
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+								
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+								
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	• +	+	+								

Element	Occurrence																			
	H.T.	K-A	Kin	Cem	Wa	Ash	Dra	Dag	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wad	Un	Gos	F-W	Tul			
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	–	+		+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	–		+			–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+°(+)	+	+	+	+	–			
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	–			
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°–	°+		+	+	+	+		°(+)	°(+)	+	–	+	(+)	–	+			
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	–		–	–	–		–	(+)	+	–	°+	–	+	+			
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
197. By women			°+	–	°+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–		°+	–	–	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+			
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	°–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+			
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

(Concluded on next page)

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																		
	H T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab E	Du 1	Du 2	Win	No C	Co 1	Co 2	Wi S	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tom
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	–
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	+	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	+	–	–
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	+	+	–	–
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+–	+	+	•+	–		+	–
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	+	–
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–

| Element | Comanche | | |

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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔg"eβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 60). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its west, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Fraus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'cliakers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab 8: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab 8: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab 8: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab 8: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab 8: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab 8: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab 8: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab 8: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WR8: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribe—(Continued)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	139 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	58	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	6		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	18	1		5	1			53	1	1	3		24		24		2	26	3			96	58	2	3	159
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			39	18	1		58
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	404	174	44	32	654
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			20	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			15	25	10	3	21	59

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The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1935, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

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APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; si, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, s	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	56	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 sl			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	38	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d	•		
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	50	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			nph
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1				w, ff
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b		d	ss, sl
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, sal, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 2 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 s, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 2 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 s, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 2 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 ssl, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 ssl		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 ssl, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 ssl	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 ssl, h, m, bl	2 ssl, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 ssl
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 ssl
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s s d
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	50	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	s, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, s			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(*Concluded on next page*)

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785*

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	as	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 a, as
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, a, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl. d, 2 asl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, as, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, as, 2 u	as	gf, 2 u	bl, as
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		a			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109. Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, a, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

Wadátkuht

103
361

5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht. It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at [162] least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu- [592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from [312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water [343] source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere- [171] monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford. At the northern end of the village area a large granite [857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder that small children would slide with the result that the polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area with the result that a very large number of stone projectile points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite important even in ancient times. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections 25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sohud[a] ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife. This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sohud[a] as

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house, called tipugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

[177]

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupinabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [825] [771]

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W [36]

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

W N [177]